2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

Figure 1. Sketch Map of the Middle East

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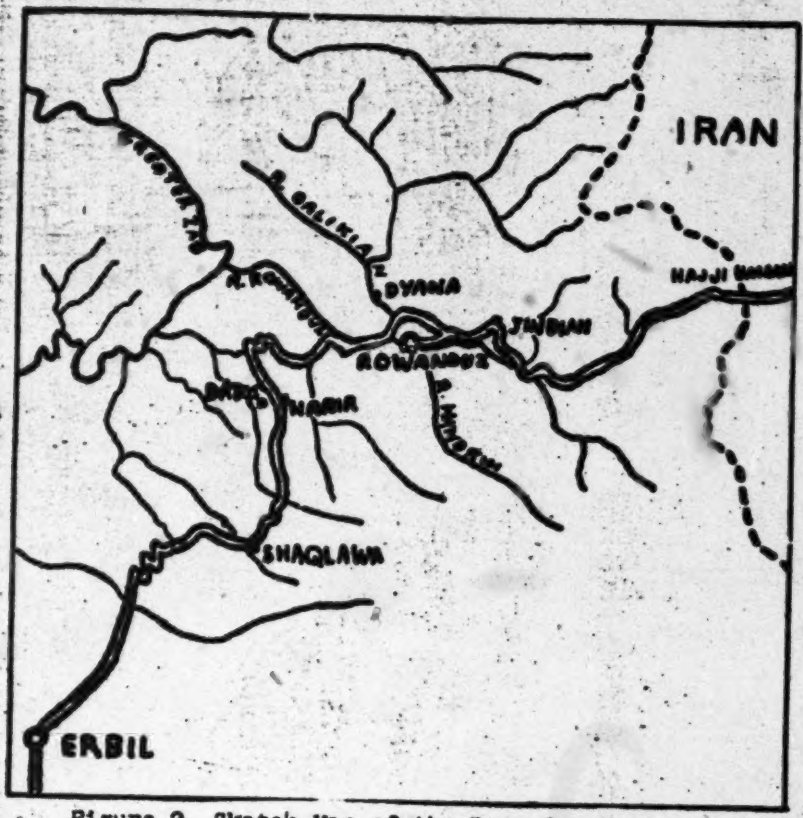

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowanduz District

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Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz

1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every forthnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshāra, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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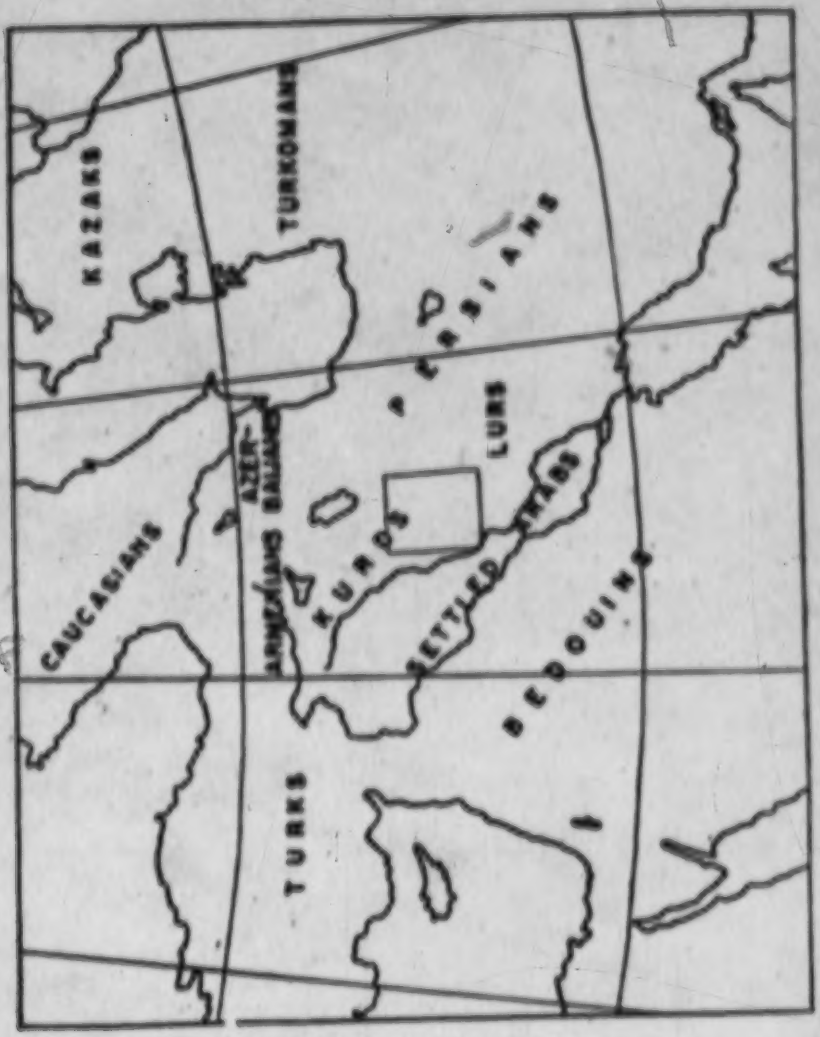
7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll



Map No. 1: The Middle East.
(For detail on the area of study, enclosed in small square, see Map. No. 2.)

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Map. No. 2. Southern Kurdistan — The territory of the old Baban Pashalik.
Dotted Line: Iraq—Persian border.

Villages studied:
1—3. Tenant villages of the Suleimani valley.
4. Shaikh Mahmud's village of residence.
5. Village of residence of Darwish Lander.
6—8. Hamawand villages.
9. Tenant village of the Germian lowlands

page 2.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Hayat's full title is Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Hamid Amin of Hamparian had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases mythical; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Sheikhs of Khalan and Zinu-Alauddin and his uncle Obaidullah.

554 609 The turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas:- thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowandus. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Kharis Effendi.

Hakim (arabic 'doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

• 102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowandus area appears on section 1. D on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 131 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowandus. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous *Rowandus Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowandus itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Hay pp. 200, 222.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowandus and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowandus with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Gelala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

1/1 [Rowanduz - - Analyst]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.[1] Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Batas, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

• [102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years. 172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the 162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi- 523 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to 174 Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this 101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, 184 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1920.

1 [1 See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Analyst].

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Soranî Begzawada (i.e. "descendants of the Begs of Soran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

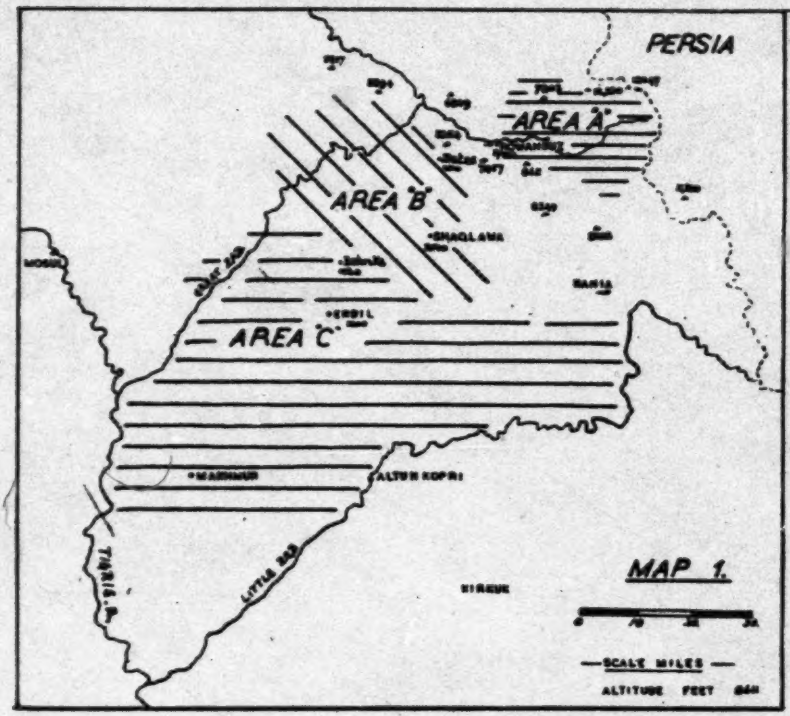
The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Rayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Rayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammad Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Rust and Gelala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammad Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Zhimi i Sheikh require special mention. (See Hay pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Amm). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obeidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

P. 71



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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

p. 72

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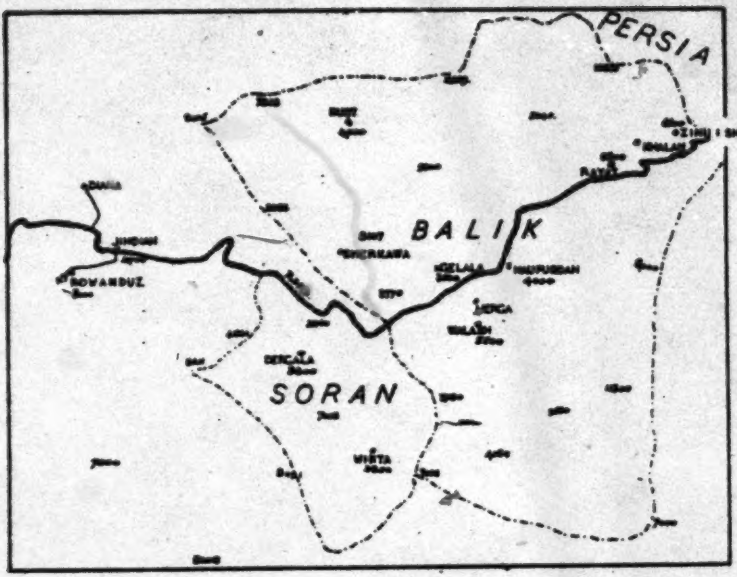

SCALE MILES
ALTITUDE FEET

—MAP 2.—

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

P. 73

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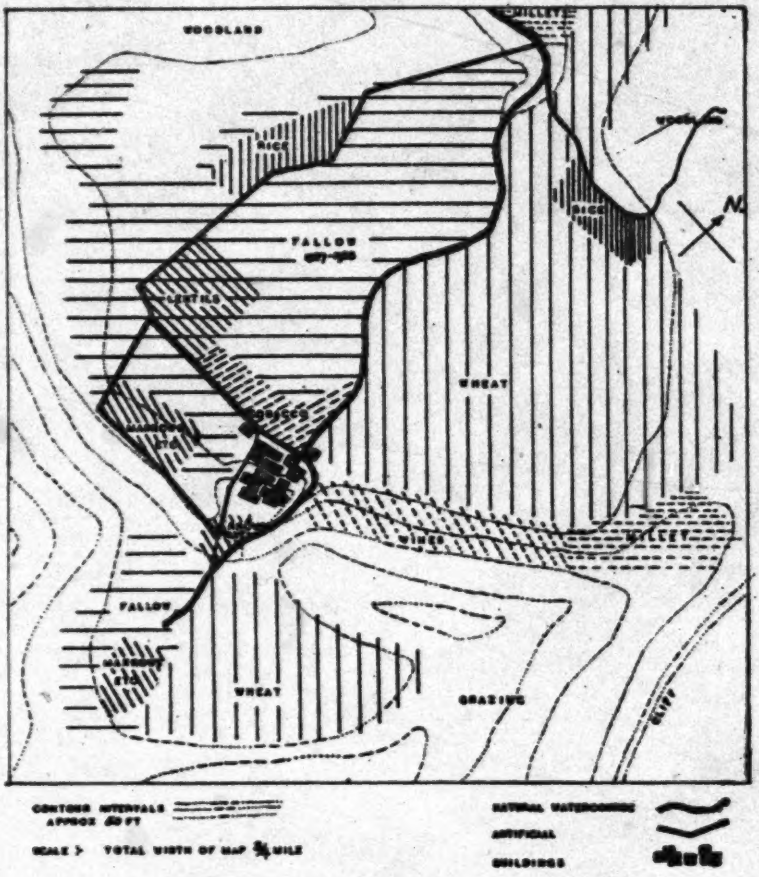

— LAND UTILISATION —
— WALASH VILLAGE SUMMER 1938 —

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

• 102

Northwestern Iran, 1946

[p.249]

132 221 We have already seen that the Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain 221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

• [102]